

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00  
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W  
-----071408Z 098176 /41

P R 071335Z JUN 77  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8015  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4515

EXDIS USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 3, 1977  
(SALTTWO - 1212)

REF: SALT TWO -1210

AT THE JUNE 3 PLENARY SEMENOV MADE TWO STATEMENTS. THE  
SECOND STATEMENT WAS INADVERTENTLY NOT INCLUDED IN REFTEL. THE  
FOLLOWING IS SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT.

SEmenov's SECOND STATEMENT, JUNE 3, 1977

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO SET FORTH ITS  
CONSIDERATION ON REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF  
HEAVY BOMBERS (ARTICLE II, PAR. 3), ALSO TAKING INTO ACCOUNT  
THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT ON THIS QUESTION AT THE  
MAY 31, 1977 MEETING.

AS YOU KNOW, THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN DISCUSSED FOR A  
LONG TIME NOW IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.  
AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, A CERTAIN PROXIMITY  
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OF POSITIONS HAS EMERGED ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE FORMULATIONS  
UNDER CONSIDERATION, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THERE ALSO REMAIN  
DIFFERENCES REQUIRING RESOLUTION.

THE APPROACH EMBODIED IN THE SOVIET WORDING FOR ARTICLE II,  
PAR. 3, ENSURES A CLEAR DEFINITION OF WHICH AIRCRAFT ARE  
INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE

NEW AGREEMENT, AND HOW THIS QUESTION WOULD BE RESOLVED IN THE FUTURE.

THE SOVIET FORMULATION UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE DELEGATIONS PROVIDES THAT IT IS PRECISELY HEAVY BOMBERS, I.E., THE SPECIFIC BOMB OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE DELIVERY AIRCRAFT OF THE SIDES, WHICH ARE TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 2,400 OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVEL: CURRENTLY FOR THE SOVIET UNION, TUPOLEV-95 MYAISSHCEHEV; CURRENTLY FOR THE UNITED STATES, B-52 AND B-1.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO STRESS ONCE AGAIN THE AIRCRAFT WHICH THE U.S. SIDE CALLS "BACKFIRE" IS A MEDIUM BOMBER, AND ATTEMPTS TO COUNT THIS AIRCRAFT AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS ARE UNFOUNDED.

AS FOR THE APPROACH EXPRESSED BY THE PHRASE "TYPES OF AIRCRAFT HOWEVER CONFIGURED," WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, IT CREATES PRECONDITIONS FOR INCLUDING AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS AIRCRAFT WHICH IN FACT ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR INCLUDING SOVIET TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS.

IT WAS SAID HERE THAT ALLEGEDLY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SOVIET HEAVY BOMBERS AND TANKER, RECON-

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NAISSION AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT. WE ARE CON-VINCED THAT THIS IS A CONTRIVED ISSUE, WHICH BY NO MEANS FACILITATES THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS ENSURE DRAWING A CLEAR-CUT DISTINCTION BETWEEN HEAVY BOMBERS ON THE ONE HAND, AND TANKER AIRCRAFT, RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT OR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT ON THE OTHER.

IT WAS SAID HERE AGAIN THAT THE U.S. SIDE ALLEGEDLY IS NOT CERTAIN THE SOVIET TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE OR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT COULD NOT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER BE CONVERTED INTO HEAVY BOMBERS.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

-----071409Z 097992 /41

P R 071335Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8016

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4515

EXDIS USSALTTWO

I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS AGAIN THAT THE TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT EXISTING IN THE USSR ARE BY NO MEANS VARIANTS OF THE HEAVY BOMBERS SUBJECT TO LIMITATION. THEY ARE SPECIAL MODIFICATIONS OF AIRCRAFT DEVELOPED FOR USE PRECISELY AS TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT RESPECTIVELY. ALL THESE AIRCRAFT HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY DESIGNED AND CONSTRUCTED TO CARRY OUT MISSIONS WHICH HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE MISSIONS FOR WHICH HEAVY BOMBERS ARE DESIGNED AND CONSTRUCTED. THEREFORE, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THESE SPECIAL AIRCRAFT CANNOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS OR ADAPTED FOR SUCH USE; INDEED, THE VERY THOUGHT OF SUCH CONVERSION IS IRRATIONAL.

ATTEMPTS TO INCLUDE AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS AIRCRAFT WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DEC 10, 1974.

SINCE THE US SIDE HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVERTING TANKER AIRCRAFT, RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT INTO HEAVY BOMBERS, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED SOME TIME AGO THAT MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS BE ASSUMED NOT TO CONVERT THEM INTO HEAVY BOMBERS.

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IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE OTHER PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE FOR ARTICLE II, PAR 3, SUCH AN OBLIGATION, BEING AN ADDITIONAL GUARANTEE OF STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH ESTABLISHED EQUAL OVERALL LIMITS ON THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OF THE

SIDES, WOULD BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND WOULD NOT REQUIRE THE EXCHANGE OF ANY KIND OF ADDITIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION WHICH WAS MENTIONED BY THE US DELEGATION AT THE MAY 31, 1977 MEETING.

IN THE INTERESTS OF REACHING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING, AND GUIDED BY THE OBJECTIVES OF INCREASING MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN OUR STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION, THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO STATE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAS NO INTENTION OF CONVERTING ITS TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT INTO HEAVY BOMBERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE SOVIET SIDE TODAY WILL FACILITATE PROGRESS TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF DEFINING HEAVY BOMBERS ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. KLOSSON

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